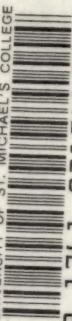


OXFORD MOVEMENT CENTENARY TRACTATES

UNIVERSITY OF ST. MICHAEL'S COLLEGE



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THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND and THE HOLY SEE



"There can be no fulfilment of the Divine Purpose in any scheme of reunion which does not ultimately include the great Latin Church of the West."

—*Lambeth Conference Report, 1930, p. 131.*

TRACTATE No VII

WHAT DO THE TRACTARIANS SAY?

By the Reverend SPENCER JONES, M.A.

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INTRODUCTION

So much has been written on the subject of the Oxford Movement that it might seem superfluous at this time of day to attempt anything more, were there not a danger of its teaching being so diluted as to lose its taste, or so explained away as to be robbed of its meaning.

After all, the Centenary, by the very meaning of the term, is intended to recall something that happened a hundred years ago :—a scene that we can picture in the University Church at Oxford, and a sermon that was preached in the presence of his Majesty's judges by John Keble on July 14th, 1833 ; a moment, moreover, that was not to end in itself, but was to mark the commencement of a great Catholic revival, destined to spread throughout the country, to make its way into our Colonies, and even to command the attention of the world ; a revival that was stamped with the Catholic stamp to start with, and was intended to retain that stamp to the end ; a movement that has had to push its way from the first, in the face of persistent opposition, persecution, and even prohibition ; and to deliver its message, whether men would hear or whether they would forbear, calling upon them to declare themselves, and to say, not whether they liked its teaching, but whether they were willing to learn it, to regulate their lives by it, and if necessary to suffer for it.

The Catholic revival never has been a popular movement, in the superficial sense of the term ; and although it can point back in the past to a succession of victories, none of its positions has been won without fighting for it, some of them not without also going to prison. Now, men do not go to prison for nothing, nor do the authorities step in, unless there is something they wish to stop.

They do not, for example, inhibit a Regius Professor from preaching, as they did Dr. Pusey, for two years, unless there is something specific in one of his sermons that they feel it right to correct. Was it for nothing that Keble's curate, after showing up his examination papers, was refused priest's orders, and had to leave the diocese in order to be ordained elsewhere? And

was it for nothing that in view of this, Keble contemplated resigning his living? I can remember a former Dean of Dromore telling me that in the early days of the ministry of the brothers Pollock at St. Alban's, Birmingham, when he went there to stand by them, they had to be protected by the police to and from the Church. And so with other illustrations that will appear later, all of which go to show that the revival, of 1833 was a Catholic revival, or it was nothing; and that the men of the movement were, all of them, what would be considered at the time, and would, perhaps, be considered to-day extreme men. So much so that even as early as the January of 1836, when there was some idea of stopping the Tracts, Newman found one inducement for going on with them in the news that the Record, the organ of the Evangelicals, in a review of the Church's work, for the past year, was "lamenting the growth of High Church principles among those of whom they had hoped for better things."

And so especially as regards the liberal theology of to-day: when we bear in mind the fact that liberalism in religion, as I shall hope presently to show, was recognised by the Tractarians as the great danger of our time, where would be the fairness, not to say the relevancy, of including among our subjects for thankfulness at a celebration of the Catholic revival, the spread among us to-day of those very principles from which it was one chief aim of the leaders of that revival to rescue us?

It is a mistake, then, to say that some of us are turning this occasion to partisan purposes when we call attention to these distinctions, and to the unreality of ignoring them; and when we beg our leaders to be true to their title, and not to play with their terms? After all, the compulsory resolution of contradictory factors tends only to confuse men's minds, not to conciliate them.

On the other hand, to insist upon identifying the revival of 1833 with Catholic principles as such is not to sacrifice the Centenary, but to save it.

As, then, with the human body, there are various centres where it is possible to feel the pulse and so far to ascertain the health of the patient, so in that body of teaching, which in the Church of England is called Catholic, there are certain points that we may press, certain questions that we may rightly ask, in order to ascertain how far that teaching is sound; how far it may be said to be in line with what our leaders laid down for us; and how far in practice it answers to its name.

Only when we have done this, I venture to think, can we unite, without any sense of unreality, in one burst of praise and thanksgiving in the services of the Centenary.

CHAPTER I.

THE ASSIZE SERMON.

It was the suppression of ten Irish bishoprics, and the redistribution of their endowments, and this without any reference to the ecclesiastical authorities, in 1833, that brought the Catholic revival into being.

The stir and stress of the moment in England was, of course, but one symptom of a wide sweeping movement that had been in progress for some time on the continent of Europe and in America; a general condition of unrest, under which every institution woke up to find itself on its trial; a movement of which events of grave significance afforded so many illustrations, e.g., the Declaration of Independence in America, the Revolution in France, Catholic Emancipation, and the Reform Bill in England. And amid much that was sinful, and even satanic in these conditions, there was a genuine feeling everywhere after freedom: William Wilberforce had been hard at work in his effort to liberate the slave; and the Tractarians saw at the outset, what others came to see only gradually afterwards, that the Church of England had been taken captive by the State, and that even though "her chains were of gold," a crisis had come and a call had come with it to begin shaking them off. Once again the moment had come for men to be reminded of the things that are Cæsar's and of the things that are God's; and that whereas Our Saviour demands for each of these things their due the Civil Government in ignoring this demand, was claiming absolute control over both.

It is this claim of absolute control over all religious matters on the part of the Civil Government that Keble came forward to confront, and if possible to confute. And it is here at the outset that we may recognise the Movement of 1833 in the very substance of it; here that we may see what it was that moved John Keble into the University pulpit at Oxford; what it was that made the words he uttered such moving words; and what it was that kept him moving afterwards;—Keble and those that were with him.

It was a challenge that brought various other questions in its train; questions that were to exercise the mind of the Church and of the country for many a year to come; but whether you look at the cause itself or at the consequence—and the leaders

were too absorbed with the cause at first to appreciate the consequence—fundamentally it was a question of Government in 1833, and along the years that followed; and it is a question of Government with us to-day.

In attempting, then, to ascertain what the Catholic revival stands for I shall take Keble's Assize Sermon, and more particularly the advertisement to it, as my text throughout.

I.

What Has Happened?

"The legislature of England and Ireland (the members of which are not even bound to believe in the Atonement) this body has virtually usurped the commission of those whom our Saviour entrusted with at least one voice in making ecclesiastical laws in matters wholly or partly spiritual." Keble then goes on to denounce this action as an "usurpation," and as a "profane intrusion"; and "we must," he adds, "as a sacred duty record our conviction that it is an intrusion."

2.

What Are We To Do?

This has grave consequences for the State; but what concerns Churchmen is how they are to behave in consequence.

"What line of conduct they are bound themselves to pursue. How they may continue their communion with the Church established (hitherto the pride and comfort of their lives) without any taint of those Erastian principles on which she is now avowedly to be governed."

3.

What Are We To Say To Rome?

And lastly, "What answer can we make to the partisans of the Bishop of Rome when they taunt us with being a merely Parliamentary Church? And how consistently with our present relations to the State can even the doctrinal purity and integrity of The Most Sacred Order be preserved?" "The attention of all who love the Church is most earnestly solicited unless we would have our children's children say

'There was once here a glorious Church but it was betrayed into the hands of Libertines for the real or affected love of a little temporary peace and good order'."

Thus Keble's sermon was like a blast from a trumpet, to sound an alarm, to awaken the nation out of its slumber, to rally loyal Churchmen to the Catholic standard, and to call a Council of War.

And what happened in consequence of this call, the long drawn-out course of the Oxford Movement, all that its champions have said and have done, and all that they have suffered for doing it and for saying it, what is it but the elaboration of an answer to Keble's question?

And my aim is to trace some of the consequences of this challenge, particularly some of the more significant moves which have marked the course of the campaign, and to show how, as time advanced, this movement for the revival of the Church in England resolved itself gradually but inevitably into a movement for the reunion of Christendom, and more particularly into a movement for reunion with the Holy See.

CHAPTER II.

A PROFANE INTRUSION.

The action of the Civil Government may have seemed at first to be sudden, something novel and unheard of, like a bolt from the blue. Certainly it came as a shock to Keble, and by denouncing it publicly in the University pulpit he let the world know what he thought of it.

There was no question, then, among the leaders as to the cause of the commotion; but when they came to ask what was to come of it, they soon found themselves deep in the study of history, and of various other questions; above all of questions of Church and State, and of their relations to one another; and they had to consider whether changes in the constitution during the past three centuries—changes that “were none the less real because they had been gradual”—did not call for some corresponding change in the attitude of the Church.

Only two years before the Reform Bill had been passed; and only two years earlier still, after a protracted struggle, and owing in the event mainly to the efforts of O’Connell, the Catholic Relief Bill doing away with most of the penal laws, and re-admitting Roman Catholics into the Constitution had passed through Parliament and received the royal assent. Other influences, too, had been at work to modify long standing conditions: priests driven from France by the Revolution had found refuge in English homes, and been able to soften English prejudices, and to remove such misunderstandings as must always abound where separations have been of long standing.

Even so, it continued to be the belief of some, though of a diminishing number, of earnest men that to open the doors of Parliament to Roman Catholics was to endanger the very Constitution itself. Nevertheless, the time had come for the great change, and in a letter to his old pupil—Sir Robert Peel—Dr. Lloyd, the Bishop of Oxford, was able to write: “Every year was thinning the intellectual influence of the Protestant ranks”; until at length, on March 6, 1829, Peel rose in his place, as leader of the House of Commons, and in a speech lasting four hours and a quarter, “one of the greatest speeches of his life,” explained the proposals of the Government measure, carrying his motion by a majority of 188; and a few days later the Bill was

read a first time, finally receiving the royal assent on April 13, 1829. Roman Catholics henceforth were to have the right to sit and to vote in Parliament, with most, not all, of the chief offices of State thrown open to them.

The Eighteenth Century

Now, all these were but symptoms and results of tendencies which were still waiting to be traced to their spring and source; and the leaders, specially Hurrell Froude, set out to explore the question. Of course, they came up at once with the repeal of the Test and of the Corporation Acts, and Parliament was now open to men of all religions or of none; and the inquiry had to be pushed back and back, first to the 18th century, with its conditions of deism and deadness; until they found themselves in the presence of Bishop Butler, with his famous work on the Analogy of Religion; a work which was destined soon to affect profoundly the minds of Keble and of Newman, and even to suggest a philosophical basis for their faith.

The conditions throughout that century were extraordinary, the meetings of Convocation having been suspended from 1717, leaving the clergy without the normal means of conferring with their bishops; and leaving Churchmen generally to drift into the habit of turning to the State in their difficulties, and of acquiescing in that very condition of Erastianism which was the enemy the Tractarians had now to confront.

The Seventeenth Century

Continuing to push their inquiry into the 17th century, they found the conditions even more confused still; the short period of the Commonwealth having disclosed the sharp contrast between the Catholic and the Puritan conception of the Gospel, and the impossibility of any compromise between the two. Baxter, the representative of the Puritans, actually produced a Prayer Book of his own as a rival of the Book of Common Prayer; and at the same time a petition was presented requiring the disuse of the term 'priest,' and of the Cross in baptism. There was to be no observance of Lent or of Saints' Days; no ring in the ceremony of marriage; no kneeling at the reception of Communion; no ornaments rubric; and extempore prayers to be allowed in the services. In fact, it meant a clean sweep of all that is Catholic.

The answer to this was the revision of the Prayer Book, mainly on Catholic lines, and the passing of an Act of Uniformity in the following year, requiring all clergy to use the book and to repudiate the Covenant; with the result that ministers who could not consent to these terms resigned their benefices, and organised themselves into Nonconformist bodies outside the Church.

Although I cannot follow Wakeman when he describes the Savoy Conference as the last act of the Church of England's reformation, it was impossible, evidently, for the Tractarians to stop short in the 17th century; a century in which the great Caroline divines had to work out, as well as circumstances would allow, the problem bequeathed to them by the confusions of the Commonwealth, and of the Tudor revolution in the century before.

Laud appears as the great personage in the earlier half of the 17th century, and the leaders of the movement used to speak of their work as the carrying on, not as yet the carrying out of what the great Archbishop had been able only to begin.

Meanwhile, those who would appreciate the amazing work he had to undertake towards restoring Catholic conditions in the Church of England may read an account of his rule in the fascinating pages of Wakeman's Outline.

The Archbishop's impression that union with Rome was impossible 'while Rome is what she is'—a formula we are familiar with to-day—is, in Newman's opinion, "just the judgment, consistent with Laud's actual condition of thought and cast of opinions, his ecclesiastical position, and the existing state of opinion."

In the event, owing partly to the intimate alliance of the Church with the Crown at the time, and partly to a certain harshness of manner, which estranged instead of conciliating those who were about him, when the monarch himself went down his great Archbishop went down with him; and it can be said as truly of the one as of the other that he gave his life for the Church he had loved so well.

The Sixteenth Century

Another push to the inquiry brought our leaders to the reign of Elizabeth, and to one of the most distinguished divines, not only of that, but of any century—Richard Hooker.

RICHARD HOOKER (1553—1600). The problem of Church and State made the study of Hooker's famous treatise on Ecclesiastical Polity inevitable; and while Froude and Keble must often have discussed it together, Keble sat down deliberately to prepare his great edition of this, "by reference throughout to the original editions"; and to contribute a Preface of his own of 108 pages, of which Newman always used to speak very highly.

Born in 1553, the year Mary came to the throne, he was a child of only five years on the accession of Elizabeth, when Convocation presented its famous petition for a continuance of the old religion, and of union with the Holy See; a petition which was ignored.

Hooker's work on Ecclesiastical Polity appeared first in 1592-3; and he died at the early age of forty-seven years in 1600.

Now in the critical period of these forty years of Elizabeth's reign, Hooker had been raised up, Keble said, in the providence of God to stem the tide of a puritanism which after being largely manufactured on the continent, had been gathering force for some years, and which with the reaction and the return of exiles after Mary's reign, was threatening now to overwhelm the Church at home.

Predisposing Causes of Puritanism.

Catholics in England were perhaps unpopular at the moment, and much sympathy had been awakened with the sufferings of the reformers just then in France and in the Netherlands, all of whom were apt to look to Geneva although they were not living there. Among these, not the least ardent were those who had fled the country on Mary's accession.

And one writer tells us : "These very people that had enjoyed the desires of their hearts in a reformation from the Church of Rome became at last so like the grave as never to be satisfied, but were still thirsty for more and more."

This tendency to divide and to sub-divide, with the presence and pressure of a foreign element constantly behind to support it, has not, I think, been sufficiently appreciated.

Abbot Feckenham had recognised it in his speech in the Lords on the Liturgy Bill in 1559 : "The authors and devisers of the same books could not agree among themselves nor yet any one of them might be found that did long agree with himself, and for the proof thereof I shall first begin with the German writers, *the chief Schoolmasters and Instructors of our Countrymen in these novelties.*" While Bancroft in a famous sermon later on coined a word for this foreign influence when he spoke of Calvin's followers as "Genevating."

The Great Question.

What, then, was the question of the moment? "The nucleus of the whole controversy," Keble declares, "was undoubtedly the question of Church authority." Not the question merely of the limits of that authority, but the much more serious question—with whom does Church authority as such reside?

And it is strange to reflect that Hooker who was called upon to ascertain the answer to this question, had been brought up in the atmosphere of that very foe that he was destined to fight. His uncle John had been a devoted follower of Peter Martyr; Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, who had befriended him and enabled him to enter the College of Corpus Christi in Oxford, had been among the exiles in Germany during Mary's reign; Cole, whom the Queen had literally thrust upon the fellows of Corpus as their President, in preference to Robert Harrison, "who favoured the Romish religion," also had been among the exiles; while

Hooker's tutor, Reynolds, introduced him to the study of Calvin and Peter Martyr for his education both in Scripture and in doctrine.

Such was the environment of Richard Hooker; and if it is important not to view Laud apart from his setting in the 17th century: more important still is it, I think, to appreciate Hooker's setting in the 16th.

Keble, who certainly was alive to this, would not call Hooker his master, although he felt that he had saved the situation for the English Church.

Difficult though it must have been for him so far to shake himself free of his puritanical surroundings, his appointment as Master of the Temple came in at this stage to help him; for here he found one Travers already in office as lecturer; one who had hoped for the appointment as Master for himself, and who was an ardent disciple of Calvin.

Walton describes, in his own quaint way, the controversy that ensued, and how "the forenoon sermon spake Canterbury and the afternoon Geneva."

So heated, indeed, did this controversy become, that Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, felt constrained to inhibit Travers from preaching.

Strangely enough this very inhibition opened the way indirectly for the great achievement of the Master's life; for Travers, not to be denied, contrived to have his sermon privately circulated and scattered abroad; with the result that Hooker felt obliged to prepare an adequate answer to it; and this answer it was that developed gradually into the elaborate treatise on Ecclesiastical Polity that was to make Hooker's name famous for all time.

The Presbyterian Standpoint.

What, then, was the Presbyterian standpoint? And what attitude did the English Church adopt towards it at the time?

The Presbyterians said: This power was entrusted not to the successors of the Apostles, but to a mixed council of presbyters—lay and spiritual. And if we ask, how did this Council come by this power, their answer is, "not as an inward grace derived from our Lord, by laying on of hands, but as an external prerogative, granted as we believe by positive enactments of Holy Scripture. Why, then, was the challenge not taken up at once and in a more decisive manner? In attempting to explain this, Keble pictures out the conditions of the time, and shows how much caution came to be used at first; why many were silent when they would rather have spoken; why it was that their line of defence was not better chosen at the outset when they did speak.

The claims of Mary Queen of Scots to the English throne were at first an anxious question for Elizabeth, and during the

ten first years of her reign, when she was shutting up the Catholic bishops in prison and shutting out the Pope, everything was in suspense; and not only was it more difficult then than it is to-day, but well nigh impossible, to urge the doctrine of Apostolical succession without also appearing to argue in favour of the Apostolic See.

But when the Pope had done his worst with his bull of Excommunication against the Queen, and when the defeat of the Armada had put Philip of Spain out of court, the English divines came out of their shells; and as the political atmosphere came to clear, a new school of writers after giving their minds to the subject, began to publish their views on The New Discipline, as it was called.

But one person there was who had been shut out of the discussion, one aspect of the argument that had been withdrawn from view, and that person was the Pope, and that aspect the continuance of Communion with the Apostolic See.

Keble points out how thankful we ought to be that such a doctrine as that of Apostolical succession was preserved at all under the conditions of the time, seeing that "the works of the Fathers had not been critically sifted . . . and also because the remains of St. Ignatius in particular, for a single writer the most decisive of all who have borne witness to apostolic principles, were all that time under a cloud of doubt, which was providentially dispelled in the next age by the discovery of a copy unquestionably genuine."

For this latter reason it is that the later school of Laud, with this fuller statement of Catholic conditions to inform it, appears in advance of the Hooker school of the century before.

Of Saravia, who was at work in England in 1587, and of Sutcliffe, Dean of Exeter and other members of the Hooker school, I cannot here more particularly speak, but I will content myself with a mention of Bilson, Warden at first, and afterwards Bishop of Winchester, and with the quotation of a few passages selected by Keble as representative of his mind.

"The Power of the Keys."

- 1st. 'This power was first settled in the Apostles before it was delivered unto the Church.'
- 2ndly. The authority of their first calling liveth yet in their succession. . . . 'Yet the Apostles charge to teach, baptize and to minister, the Lord's supper, to bind and to loose sins in heaven and in earth, to impose hands for the ordaining of pastors and elders: these parts of the Apostolic function are not decayed, and cannot be wanted in the Church (or as we should express it, 'cannot be done without.' S.J.).'

- “ There must either be no Church, or else these must remain, for without these no Church can continue.”
- “ The service must endure as long as the promise; to the end of the world . . . Christ is present with those who succeed His Apostles in the same function and ministry as ever.”
- “ Things proper to bishops that might not be common to them with presbyters were singularity in succeeding, and superiority in ordaining.”
- “ The singularity of one pastor in each place, descended from the Apostles and their scholars in all famous Churches in the world by a perpetual chair of succession doth to this day continue, but where abomination or desolation, I mean knavery or violence interrupt it.”

“There is a course of direct reasoning to the same purpose,” Keble says, “from p. 108 to p. 112.”

Meanwhile, Hooker was advancing and rising to the same level with Bilson; and one utterance may fairly here be quoted to represent the more mature position of his mind:—“Let us not fear to be bold and preremptory,” he says, “that if anything in the Church’s government surely the first institution of bishops was from heaven, was even of God; the Holy Ghost was the author of it.” And what is so interesting as disclosing the advance of his mind is that after acknowledging that he had not always thought thus, and others like him but “the general received persuasion,” he says, “held from the first beginning (was) that the Apostles themselves left bishops invested with power above other pastors.”

Thus we witness the struggling to the surface of normal Catholic principles, in spite of the adverse conditions of the time. Meanwhile, Hurrell Froude, of course, had pushed the inquiry further back to the Supremacy Act and particularly to the Statute 25 Hen. VIII. Cap. 20, “An Act entitled ‘An Act . . . of the electing and consecrating of Archbishops and Bishops within this realm.’”

Indeed, Froude may be said to have made this subject of Church and State especially his own; and in a letter in 1834, he wrote: “I wish you didn’t set your face so pertinaciously against an alteration in the mode of appointing Bishops. That is the real seat of the disorder of the Church.”

Not content with this, however, on pushing his way further back, he saw how the Acts of Provisors and Præmunire which he denounced as “atrocious statutes,” and how the period 1350 to 1500 had prepared the ground for Henry VIIIth’s usurpation. And finally, on pushing his way further back still to the scene at Montreuil, and to the contest between Henry II and Thomas Becket he woke up to realise that the “Profane Intrusion” of 1833 did not have its commencement in 1833, but had already had

a long history, and was in itself but one chapter in the contest not between England and Rome, but between the Crown on the one hand and Canterbury and Rome on the other; while this in its turn afforded but one among many illustrations of the age-long struggle between the temporal and the spiritual, between the things that are Cæsar's and the things that are God's.

Thus in a letter to William of Pavia, Becket writes: "Because we do not absolutely pledge ourselves to usages, some of which void the authority of the Apostolic See, and extinguish the liberty of the Church, the King departed without concluding peace."

While in a letter to the Pope the Archbishop wrote:—

"Certain it is that if the usages he demands obtain force, the authority of the Apostolic See in England will either vanish altogether, or be reduced to a minimum, as indeed it would have been long since, if we may trust the memory of this generation, and the writings of the past, unless Princes had been checked by the Church of Canterbury."

Observe: these are not my quotations, but those of Hurrell Froude, and they show plainly not merely his thoroughness in research, but the unmistakable Catholic principles which constrained him to pursue it. And I attempted to show in a previous Tractate how Froude's estimate of these conditions is illustrated in the State Papers of the reign of Henry VIII, and how by making these earlier statutes, which Froude so sternly denounced, mean what they were never intended to mean that monarch succeeded in destroying that union between England and the Holy See which Becket had so nobly died in order to preserve.

CHAPTER III.

THE PRINCIPAL ACTORS.

The principal actors in this drama at the outset appear as under :—

John Keble (b. 1792, d. 1866).

John Henry Newman (b. 1801, d. 1890).

Edward B. Pusey (b. 1800, d. 1882).

Hurrell Froude (b. 1803, d. 1836).

What is behind all else in the Tractarians, I think when we come to appreciate them, what gives substance to what they say, and a meaning to every move they make, is the spirit of unworldliness which is conspicuous in them all; as conspicuous in Ward, Oakeley, Faber, and Dalglairns, as in Keble, Pusey, Newman, and Froude.

And next to their unworldliness was a condition that it brought in its train, namely, a thoroughness in every undertaking, a profound study of every subject they had to treat, and a deep sense of responsibility.

Thus with Keble's famous sermon in Winchester Cathedral in 1836, which lasted an hour and a half, when he said he had never thundered out anything like it in his life before; we may be sure that, in that effort, he knew what he was talking about all the time, and that he had weighed every word.

And so again with Newman's sermons, whether on moral subjects, as so many of them were, or on deep philosophical subjects, like 'Faith and Reason,' there is not an idle sentence to be found in them. While his last sermon in St. Mary's at Oxford on February 2nd, 1843, on Development of Christian Doctrine, was expanded into an essay on that subject which alone, even though he had not written also his Grammar of Assent, would have made his name famous not only in England, but throughout the world.

Moreover, these two great efforts by two of the greatest of the Tractarians have a distinct bearing on the questions of to-day, and on the movement for re-union; for leading Catholic theologians like Schanz assure us that it is impossible to understand the doctrine of Papal Infallibility without a thorough grasp of the subject of Tradition and Development.

Pusey's learning again was as conspicuous as his piety: over

and beyond his Commentaries on the Old Testament, the thoroughness with which he sounded the depth of a subject such as that of the Real Presence, the 'Notes' of his sermon on which, in 1853, ran to 722 pages, is an instance of what may be termed the intensiveness of his intellectual and theological work.

To this, too, must be added the life long profound study he made on the subject of sin, which will serve to explain a remark of Professor Connington, one of the distinguished scholars of his day at Oxford, that when Pusey was announced to preach it was looked forward to always as an event.

"I have simply been one," he said, a few months before his death, "who did with all his might anything which his hand found to do."

Hurrell Froude, who died at the early age of 36 years before he had had time to develop to the full his powers, or to resolve his principles had given us, nevertheless, enough to make us wish for more, and was recognised by those who knew him best, as Keble and Newman did, as a man of genius, and a man of God.

1. John Henry Newman.

Natural though it may seem at first to drop Newman out of our description almost at once on the ground that he 'went over to Rome,' it is, I think, as impossible for us to leave him out in describing the revival now as it was for him to leave himself out of the revival at the time.

He protested, I know, that he was not made to lead, that "he had never had a strong wrist," and that in the anxious moments of those early days, "the reins had broken in his hands."

But however this may have been, throughout what may be termed the embryonic stage of the movement, 1833—1845, Newman was in the centre all the time, his influence was felt, more or less, by everyone, and we cannot appreciate the significance of the movement unless we do justice to the personage who did so much to promote it. And even after he had gone Pusey could write of him as "working in another part of the same vineyard." "He has gone," he said, "as a simple act of duty, with no view for himself, placing himself in God's hands. . . . He seems to me not so much gone from us as transplanted into another part. . . ."

And in a private letter to a friend while refusing to publish any anti-Roman remonstrance, Pusey wrote: "I can only take the positive ground of love and duty to our own Church as an instrument of God for man's salvation, in which He is present . . . as descended from that Church which was planted here to save souls. I cannot any more take the negative ground against Rome. I can only remain neutral."

As to his influence in the University, Principal Shairp wrote: "There was not, in Oxford at least, a reading man who was not

more or less directly influenced by the movement . . . and if such was the general aspect of Oxford society at that time, where was the centre and soul from which so mighty a power emanated? It lay, and had for some years lain, mainly in one man, a man in many ways the most remarkable that England had seen during this century (19th); perhaps the most remarkable the English Church had seen in any century,—John Henry Newman.” But apart from his personality which was unique, he had commenced the Tracts out of his own head, and was their Editor; later on, for three years he was Editor of the *British Critic*; and of the 179 pieces comprised in the *Lyra Apostolica* no fewer than 109 were from his pen; Keble coming next with 46; Isaac Williams with 9; Hurrell Froude with 8; and Robert Wilberforce with one.

His position, too, as Vicar of St. Mary’s in Oxford to which he had been appointed some five years before, afforded him an opportunity of a special kind; not only in the way of normal sermons, but of lectures such as those in the Adam de Brome Chapel, of which it was the deliberate judgment of a contemporary, and an authority so distinguished as the late Dr. Church, Dean of St. Paul’s, that without these lectures the movement could never have been what it was.

We find Newman, in fact, almost in spite of himself, like a great general, with the map in his hand, viewing the entire field of action, and planning out the campaign.

Before starting from his inn at Palermo on May 27th, 1833, he had said and had kept on saying “I have a work to do in England”; he reached home six weeks later, on Tuesday, July 9th; and on the following Sunday, July 14th, Keble mounted the pulpit of St. Mary, and the movement had begun.

2. *Those That Were With Him.*

John Keble—Hurrell Froude—Edward B. Pusey. John Keble was Hurrell Froude’s tutor; they were “like elder and younger brothers”; and although Froude’s *Remains* were edited by Keble and Newman together, the Preface to each of the two parts of that work was from the pen of Keble alone.

Froude in his own playful way used to compare himself to the criminal who had done one good thing in his life;—his one good thing was “to have brought Keble and Newman to understand one another”; and he went on to say, “Keble is my fire, but I am his poker.” I shall be speaking later of Keble’s great effort at Winchester in 1836; meanwhile the influence of Froude upon Newman and upon the movement was of so remarkable a kind that I shall leave Newman to describe it in his own words:—

“I knew him first,” he writes, “in 1826, and was in the closest and most affectionate friendship with him from about 1829, till his death in 1836. He was a man of the highest gifts—so

truly many-sided, that it would be presumptuous in me to attempt to describe him, except under those aspects in which he came before me. I speak of Hurrell Froude—in his intellectual aspect—as a man of high genius, brimful and overflowing with ideas and views, in him original, which were too many and strong even for his bodily strength, and which crowded and jostled against each other in their effort after distinct shape and expression. And he had an intellect as critical and logical as it was speculative and bold. Dying prematurely, as he did, and in the conflict and transition-state of opinion, his religious views never reached their ultimate conclusion, by the very reason of their multitude and their depth. His opinions arrested and influenced me even when they did not gain my assent. He professed openly his admiration of the Church of Rome and his hatred of the Reformers. He delighted in the notion of an hierarchical system, of sacerdotal power, and of full ecclesiastical liberty. He felt scorn of the maxim, "The Bible and the Bible only is the religion of Protestants"; and he gloried in accepting Tradition as a main instrument of religious teaching. . . . He delighted in thinking of the saints. . . He embraced the principle of penance and mortification. He had a deep devotion to the Real Presence, in which he had a firm faith. He was powerfully drawn to the Medieval Church, but not to the Primitive. . . . He was smitten with the love of the Theocratic Church; he went abroad and was shocked by the degeneracy which he thought he saw in the Catholics of Italy. . . . He taught me to look with admiration towards the Church of Rome, and in the same degree to dislike the Reformation. He fixed deep in me the idea of devotion to the Blessed Virgin, and he led me gradually to believe in the Real Presence."

Pusey, of course, brought with him a great accession of strength into the movement, to which he was beginning to turn in 1834, but which he did not fully join until 1836: he had seen the beginnings of the rationalising tendency during his studies in Germany, and saw how it was already beginning to invade the University of Oxford; and his great learning and piety, as well as his position as Regius Professor, not to mention his family connections, "at once gave to us," Newman writes, "a position and a name."

Besides a Tract on Fasting, and a more elaborate Tract on Baptism, Pusey began in 1836 his great work of procuring Translations of the Fathers.

And just when there had been some idea of stopping the Tracts, he helped to lift the entire enterprise on to a higher plane, and to give it a new start.

"Without him," Newman said, "we should have had little chance, especially at the early date of 1834, of making any serious resistance to the liberal aggression."

CHAPTER IV.

DECLARATION OF WAR.

The original leaders, then, agreed in recognising in Liberalism their common foe; and soon came to see that what had begun with a "Profane Intrusion" was to develop into a prolonged fight.

Hugh James Rose had sounded a warning note to his own University of Cambridge the year before (1832), and was in agreement so far with the Oxford leaders, that the Reform agitation, the coming into power of a Whig Government, and the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, opening the doors of Parliament, as they did, to men of all religions or of none, by affecting the distribution of Church patronage was paving the way for the authoritative introduction of liberal principles in the country, and of grievous heresies in the Church,—the fulfilment of which forecast is before our eyes to-day.

Newman saw this at the outset, and never lost sight of it to the end. :—

"I thought it was both incumbent upon us and possible for us," he wrote, "to meet that onset of liberal principles of which we were all in immediate anticipation." And again :—"I have said already that the object of the Movement was to withstand the Liberalism of the day."

Liberalism. Now what precisely did this term Liberalism stand for in the minds of the Tractarians? It was understood to signify then, as it is understood to signify now, the anti-dogmatic principle, or that view of religion which in its sincere desire to simplify the grounds of belief, confines them to the text of Scripture and to such interpretations of the text as the private opinions of theologians and of others may be led to deduce from that text.

And it is this view of religion which under another name was elaborately analysed and formally condemned by Pius X in his Encyclical Letter of September 8th, 1907.

Now we recognise in Tractarian teaching the direct antithesis to this. "Dogma is the fundamental principal of religion," Newman writes, "religion as a mere sentiment is a mere dream and a mockery. As well can there be filial love without a father,

as devotion without the fact of a supreme Being." "Such," he adds, "was the fundamental principle of the Movement of 1833." And fifteen years later, in 1879, in what is known as his "Biglietto Speech" in Rome, when he was raised to the dignity of a Cardinal, Newman made this his main subject.

"I rejoice to say, to one great mischief I have from the first opposed myself. For thirty, forty, fifty years I have resisted to the best of my powers the spirit of Liberalism in religion . . . it is an error over-spreading as a snare the whole earth."

He goes on to say that according to this view, "revealed religion is not a truth, but a sentiment, and a taste; not an objective fact, not miraculous. Devotion is not necessarily founded upon faith. Men may go to Protestant Churches and to Catholic, may get good from both and belong to neither . . . the misfortune is that though it ends in infidelity, it does not necessarily arise out of infidelity . . ."

Keble was equally clear: In a letter to Sir John Coleridge he writes:—

"I admire Alexander Knox very much in some respects . . . but I cannot admit his symbolising with Methodists to be at all Catholic; quite the contrary, for Catholic means 'according to the rule of the whole uncorrupt Church from the beginning'; and Mr. Knox's admiration for Wesley and Co. was founded first on his own private personal interpretation of Church history. Surely it was a great fallacy of his that where he saw good effect of a thing the thing itself is to be approved . . . in itself surely it is rather an arrogant position in which Mr. Knox delighted to imagine himself as one on the top of a high hill seeing which way different schools tend (the school of Primitive Antiquity being but one among many) and passing judgment upon each how far it is right and how well it suited its time—himself superior to all, exercising a royal right of ecclecticism over all. It does not seem to accord very well with the notion of a faith 'once for all delivered to the saints.'"

A Type of Liberalism.

As if to shake hands before the fight began, Hampden sent Newman the 2nd edition of his pamphlet: "Observations on Religious Dissent, with particular reference to the use of religious tests in the University."

This was in November, 1834; and between that point of time and January, 1836, when Hampden was appointed Regius Professor of Divinity in Oxford, a series of protests were published

by the Tractarians against his theology. I here set down some of his principles :—

- “ It is but a common prejudice to identify theological propositions methodically deduced and stated, with the simple religion of Christ.”
- “ Under Theological Opinion were to be placed the Trinitarian doctrine, and the Unitarian.
- That a dogma was a theological opinion formally insisted on.
- “ Tradition,” he maintains, “is nothing more than expositions of Scripture reasoned out by the Church and embodied in a Code of doctrine.”

On which Newman's immediate comment is :—“The gold and silver of inspired writers taken out in coppers.”

And in acknowledging the receipt of the pamphlet, he writes :

“ I dare not trust myself to put on paper my feelings, about the principles contained in it; tending as they do in my opinion altogether to make shipwreck of Christian faith.” And again : “This was the first step towards interrupting that peace, and mutual good understanding which has so far prevailed in this place.”

“ Such was the commencement of the assault of Liberalism upon the old orthodoxy of Oxford and England. . . ”

The Plan of Campaign.

Meanwhile Newman, as Editor of the Tracts, had commenced them out of his own head. But this was, of course, but a beginning; and feeling that Liberalism required to be faced with a positive, not a mere negative treatment, he was determined to ascertain the grounds of a positive theory with which to confront it.

Catholic principles, e.g., dogma as the basis to build upon; a visible church; and Apostolical Tradition as a main instrument of religious teaching, had well nigh faded from the minds of Englishmen under the deadening conditions of the 18th century; and the time had come to revive them.

After turning to the Anglican divines of the 17th century, he went on to ascertain the conditions of the Primitive Church to which Anglicanism formally appeals; especially Scripture as interpreted in the light of Apostolical Tradition, and as declared particularly in the Epistles of St. Ignatius. This, with the Prayer Book as ‘arbiter,’—a term they used to apply to it,—may be said, I think, to constitute the charter of the English Church as the Tractarians viewed it.

The Prayer Book. For the system of definite teaching based upon Dogma, the Tracts took their stand upon the Prayer Book with Scripture to support it :—

e.g. :

- i THE VISIBLE CHURCH : Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles (Tract XI).
- ii THE SACRAMENTAL PRINCIPLE : The Ordination Service "Receive ye the Holy Ghost. . . ."
- iii FOR CONFESSION : The Visitation Service with the form prescribed.
- iv BAPTISMAL REGENERATION : Office of Holy Baptism "Seeing this child is regenerate. . . ."
- v THE REAL PRESENCE. The Catechism. "Verily and indeed taken and received."
- vi WORKS OF PENANCE : The Communion Service.
- vii SAINTS' DAYS and DAYS OF FASTING : Collects Epistles and Gospels and the Calendar.

THE EPISTLES OF S. IGNATIUS :—For the Episcopal system :—

St. Ignatius ; especially where he says : "A man does not deceive that Bishop whom he sees but he practises rather with the Bishop Invisible. . . ."

The Base and the Building. They took dogma, then, and the Sacramental system as their basis throughout, but "the house had still to be built upon it"; and they soon found that it was an easier matter to set down the *Via Media* on paper than to put it into practice; so we find Newman speaking "under correction"; and wondering "whether the religion of Andrews, Laud, Hammond, Butler, and Wilson, is capable of being professed, acted on, and maintained on a large sphere of action, or whether it be a mere modification or transition state of either Romanism or popular Protestantism." Treasures of Primitive doctrine, and the principles of the Gospel were spread out before them, but they had yet "to take an inventory of them; to sort, harmonize, and complete them; and to ascertain what was fundamental and what was not."

And so they attempted to work out their theory by means of the Tracts, publications like "Home Thoughts Abroad," The Prophetical Office of the Church; poems like *The Christian Year* and *The Lyra Apostolica*; brilliant articles in *The British Critic*; Sermons and Lectures in the University pulpit and elsewhere; and *The Library of the Fathers*.

England and Rome.

Of course, in turning to the Anglican divines they found themselves face to face with Rome; and while Newman felt it cowardly not to be able to state the grounds of his belief, he did not anticipate any great difficulty here. Not that he did not feel the fascination of Rome, of her grandeur, and prestige; not that it was ever congenial to him to protest against her; but

unlike the other leaders, Newman had come up to Oxford with the persuasion on his mind that Rome was Anti-Christ; an attitude Froude simply could not understand. Moreover, what seemed to be excessive veneration paid to the saints by Rome was a stumbling block, and kept him from rushing into her arms.

On the other hand, Froude, he said, "was always tending to rub out this difficulty from my mind." Not only so, but in what were almost his dying words, Froude took him to task for the strong things he was saying against Rome: "I must enter another protest," he said, "against your cursing and swearing. What good can it do? . . . How mistaken we may ourselves be on many points that are only gradually opening on us!"

The Issue. There had been at the outset, of course, one original, undivided Church, which in course of time, owing to the sins of men, had broken out into three several communions:—Roman, Greek, and Anglican; and as between England and Rome certain fundamental doctrines necessary to be believed were held in common; and these fundamentals involved certain consequences which had yet to be ascertained.

"The Middle Age belonged to the Anglican Church and much more did the Middle Age of England. The Church of the 12th century was the Church of the 19th. . . . Saving our engagements to the Prayer Book and Articles we might breathe, and live, and act, and speak in the atmosphere and climate of Henry III's day, or the Confessor's, or even of Alfred's.

Hurrell Froude, as we have seen, had taken us back as far as to Henry II and Thomas Becket.

Broadly speaking, then, the issue between England and Rome lay between Antiquity and Catholicity: England appeals, for her charter, to Antiquity, and this comprises the Primitive Church, and especially Apostolical Tradition for the interpretation of Scripture, and the four first Councils. These last were compared by Pope Gregory, to the four Gospels; for, he said, "they were constituted with universal consent, and whoever presumes, therefore, to loose what they bind, or to bind what they loose destroys himself not them." The Act of Elizabeth also recognises as the rule for testing heresy "The Canonical Scriptures and the four first Councils."

On the other hand, Rome's strong point was Catholicity; so that while England might say to Rome: "There is but one Faith, and you have added to it," Rome might retort, "There is but one Church, and you are out of it."

Then, of course, there was the question of the 39 Articles, and men were always asking Newman what he was going to do with them.

I will return to this presently; meanwhile the year 1836 was

alive with events of moment : In February in spite of all that had been done before, and of a strong letter of protest by Pusey to Lord Melbourne, Hampden was appointed Regius Professor.

In the same month Hurrell Froude passed away at the early age of 33 years. Keble and Newman undertook to edit Froude's Remains, which appeared two years later and made an extraordinary stir in England.

In July, Newman's Essay on Apostolical Tradition appeared.

In September Keble preached his famous sermon in Winchester Cathedral on the same subject.

On All Saints' Day, the 3rd Collected Volume of Tracts was published.

And in this same year Pusey's great project of a Library of the Fathers was set on foot ; all this in 1836.

The subject of Apostolical Tradition is so important and constitutes so evident a line of distinction between Tractarians and Non-Tractarians that I am reserving a special chapter for it.

The next year, 1837, Newman wrote his Essay on Justification.

In 1838 his pamphlet on The Real Presence appeared—an attempt “to place that doctrine on an intellectual basis.”

And in July of the same year he became Editor of The British Critic, and continued this for three years.

The next year, 1839, was to bring the first shock to Newman and to the Movement.

A Crisis. Newman, we may remember, received two shocks—the first in 1839, and the second in 1841 ; and, while I have not space to go into detail here, it is important to appreciate the significance of the great step he was led to take in consequence.

It is a mistake to imagine that he took up with Rome suddenly, as a desperate alternative, and an excuse for escape. On the contrary, in 1839, he tells us “my position was at its height,” and he had no trouble on his mind ; he had “put away the controversy with Rome for more than two years.” I have no reason to suppose,” he said, “that the thoughts of Rome came across my mind at all.”

But in the course of his studies in the long vacation, he was startled by what he found : he had studied the subject of the early Councils, such as Ephesus and Chalcedon before, without seeing what he saw now. Many years before he had viewed them with the eyes of a Protestant, later again he had approached them as an Anglican, looking at them through the eyes of the Anglican divines ; now, when he came to see them once again with his own eyes he found the Pope in those early centuries taking a position very different from what he had been led to expect. At the Council of Chalcedon, A.D.451, for instance, he found the Pope exercising a sort of superintendence over a Council

of the Church in the East, and making the Fathers of the Council unsay their decree and pass another. "This sent him back to the Arian trouble, of which he had made a study many years before; and when he saw there, too, what had escaped his notice before, he felt he had now a key in his hand which "interpreted large passages of history" for him.

Newman began to alter his attitude in consequence of this new impression; he tried to arrange for prayers for the union of the two bodies, when their respective errors were removed, and he began to wonder whether his position at St. Mary's might not be intended providentially as an opportunity for withstanding that rationalism which was the great evil of the day, or even for promoting the cause of union with Rome.

It was with thoughts of this kind in his mind that he set to work on Tract 90; his aim being rather to open up a line of inquiry than to settle the great question; and incidentally to reduce, as far as possible, the distance between the two churches.

Tract 90.

Here he saw, what it is so easy to miss, that in both systems—England and Rome—an important distinction has to be drawn between certain popular beliefs and practices on the one hand, and the official teaching of the Church on the other. Much of the prejudice with the multitude of people in England, for example, has no sanction in Scripture, or in Anglican formularies. And so again certain popular beliefs and abuses prevailing among Roman Catholics do not belong to the official teaching of Rome, and may be, and are from time to time, corrected by Rome herself, as opportunity may offer.

Newman, therefore, concerned himself as far as possible, with what is official on either side. And when men urged the difficulty that the articles certainly were against Rome he replied "Certainly, but what do you mean by Rome?" The multitude would say, "'Rome' signifies anything and everything that has to do with Rome." But Newman said, "No"; and Tract 90 was written in order to explain what that "No" meant.

1st: "The articles do not oppose Catholic teaching, and but partially oppose Roman dogma; they for the most part oppose the dominant errors of Rome."

2ndly: In explanation of the above, Newman referred his readers to Article 35, where it says:—

"The 2nd Book of Homilies doth contain a godly, wholesome doctrine and necessary for these times, as doth the former Book of Homilies."

Here, then, is something that is at once "Godly" and "Wholesome" and "necessary for these times"—all to be found within the Anglican Charter. Let us see what this is.

Now nothing is more common than for a man to come into

a large property without knowing at once what that property comes to. Is it not possible, then, if we look again into the Anglican Charter, that we may find there something we have never observed before, as a man might say of some element of property: "I did not know that I had that," or "I did not know that that was mine"?

Newman was sure he had found something within the Anglican Charter that might reduce greatly the supposed distance between England and Rome, and that perhaps it was placed there for that purpose.

Here, then, are some passages he found:—

- "The Primitive Church next to the Apostles' time, and, as they imply, for almost 700 years, is no doubt most pure.
- The Primitive Church is specially to be followed.
- The four first General Councils belong to the Primitive Church. (Here the reader should turn to Dr. Scott's Tractate No. III.)
- There are six Councils, which are allowed and received by all men.
- Speaking of a certain truth they say that it is declared by God's word, the sentences of the ancient doctors, and judgment of the Primitive Church.
- The Lord's Blessed Body and Blood are received under the form of bread and wine.
- Ordination is a Sacrament.
- Matrimony is a Sacrament.
- There are other Sacraments besides Baptism and the Lord's Supper, though not "such as they."
- The puissant and mighty Emperor Theodosius was, in the Primitive Church, which was most holy and godly, excommunicated by St. Ambrose.

Newman drew from these and other theses the inference that there was "great probability" that "the Articles were tolerant not only of what he called 'Catholic Teaching,' but of much that was 'Roman'."

Certainly they did not directly attack Roman dogmas as declared at Trent, because while the articles were published in 1562, the Canons of the Council of Trent were not promulgated until two years later—January 26, 1564.

But there was more to be said: the authority imposing the Articles was the Convocation of 1571, and this "very convocation, which received and confirmed the Articles also enjoined by Canon that 'preachers should be *careful* that they should *never* teach aught in a sermon, to be religiously held and believed by the people, except that which is agreeable to the doctrine of the Old and New Testament, and *which the Catholic Fathers and ancient Bishops have collected from that very doctrine.*'"

From this Newman inferred that very probably the Convocation of 1571 "also countenanced and received, or at least did not reject," views of doctrine "which now would be called Roman."

What followed immediately is well known: the bishops failed to suppress Tract 90 itself, but they managed to get the series stopped. But what followed nearly a quarter of a century afterwards is perhaps not so well known, and affords one more warning in regard of the Oxford Movement, namely, never to mistake a stop for a full stop.

After all, Tract 90 was intended originally to open up a way to ultimate reunion; and in 1865 Pusey, not unmindful of this purpose, proceeded to pick up the clue that had been snatched so rudely from Newman's hand, and to resume the enterprise that Newman had not been allowed to pursue.

With Newman's permission he arranged for a reprint of the famous Tract, and published it "in one pamphlet, together with Mr. Keble's 'Letter to the Hon. Mr. Justice Coleridge on Catholic subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles'"; contributing himself a preface to both, and using it as a kind of introduction to his famous Eirenicon of 1864, and to his Letter on Healthful Reunion addressed to Newman five years later, in which he advocated that reunion with Rome at which in his day Newman had not been allowed even to hint. And in a letter to Newman on the subject Pusey wrote: "You have cleared yourself amply; but to me it seems essential to vindicate Tract 90, and this is what I am doing."

Newman, at the time of the Tract itself, had not been given any chance of vindicating himself, and when the Bishops for three whole years had directed their charges against him, he despaired of doing so.

He waited for six whole years after 1839 before he was received, and this not because he was uncertain of his ground, but in case he was under a delusion; and this deliberate attitude on his part may serve to encourage us to hope that we who are working for Corporate reunion are correct in looking for it in the direction he was led individually to take.

CHAPTER V.

APOSTOLICAL TRADITION.

The Tractarians saw at once the significance of the principle of Apostolical tradition, and were convinced that where men lose their hold upon this principle they soon begin to lose their hold upon the faith;—a forecast that is being fulfilled before our eyes to-day. They found that Hampden at the moment, and Chillingworth and Locke in an earlier day, in their desire to simplify the faith, had come to acquiesce, consciously or unconsciously, in the maxim: 'The Bible and the Bible only the religion of Protestants'; with the result that all that was outside the actual text was either patronised as 'a pious opinion,' or 'a theory upon facts'; or denounced as 'a vain conceit,' or as 'dogmatical and sententious wisdom.' And as time went on and this impression was deepened the passage from this to a further step was only too easy, and found them tampering with the Creeds and asking for a revision of them.

This explains how Pusey came to declare in 1870 that were the Athanasian Creed to be tampered with he would "resign his canonry, and abandon his fight for the Church of England." "I should not doubt," he added, "that Liddon would do the same."

And the witness of him and of Keble may serve as typical of the rest.

I. John Henry Newman. Newman had learnt his first lesson on the subject of Tradition from a sermon of Hawkins, afterwards Provost of Oriel, in the University pulpit in 1818.

"Hawkins lays down a proposition, self evident as soon as stated that the sacred text was never intended to teach doctrine, but to prove it, and that, if we would learn doctrine we must have recourse to the formularies of the Church the Catechism, and the Creeds"; and "after learning from them the doctrines of Christianity, the inquirer must verify them by Scripture."

"His subject," Newman says, "was a novel one at the time." "This view opened upon me a large field of thought."

Later on, in an essay in the *British Critic*, Newman goes on seriously to treat this subject:—

"Had Scripture never been written, Tradition would have existed still; it has an intrinsic, substantive authority, and a use collateral to Scripture."

And he supports this from Anglican and Roman Catholic divines—

DR. KAYE, Bishop of Lincoln (1826) :—

“Tertullian appeals to Apostolical Tradition, to a rule of faith, not *originally* deduced from Scripture, but delivered by the Apostles orally to the Churches, which they founded, and regularly transmitted from them to his own time. . . . Our Church declares only that Holy Scripture *contains* all things necessary to salvation respecting the source from which the rule of faith was *originally* deduced our Church is silent.”

CARDINAL BELLARMINE :—

“Totalis regula fidei est Verbum Dei, sive Revelatio Dei ecclesiæ facta, quae *dividitur* in duas regulas partiales, Scripturam et Traditionem.”

And the same writer goes on to include among the uses of Tradition that of interpreting Scripture.

BOSSUET :—

“Jesus Christ, having laid the foundation of the Church by preaching, the unwritten word was consequently the first rule of Christianity; and when the writings of the New Testament were added to it, its *authority was not forfeited on that account*; which makes us receive with *equal veneration* all that has been taught by the Apostles, whether in writing or by word of mouth.”

Newman resumes :—“The fact of a tradition of revealed truth was an elementary principle of Christianity. A body of doctrine had been delivered by the Apostles to their first successors, and by them in turn to the next generation, and then to the next. . . . ‘The things that thou hast heard of me through many witnesses the same commit thou to faithful men who shall be able to teach others also.’ This body of truth was in consequence called ‘the depositum,’ as being a substantive teaching, not a mere accidental deduction from Scripture. Thus St. Paul says to . . . Timothy, ‘Keep the deposit,’ ‘hold fast the form of sound words,’ ‘guard the deposit’.”

Newman then quotes St. Vincent of Lerins : “What is the deposit? That which hath been intrusted to you, not that which thou hast discovered; what thou hast received, not what thou hast thought out; a matter not of cleverness, but of teaching; not of private handling, but of public tradition.”

While as regards the Creeds, Newman writes : “This teaching for the most part conveyed orally was kept in

position, and from drifting by the Creed: that is, by a fixed form of words, the articles of which were the heads and main points, and memoranda for the catechist and preacher, and which were rehearsed and accepted by every candidate for baptism, by way of avowing his adherence to that entire doctrine which the Church was appointed to dispense."

And in illustration of this St. Irenæus enumerates "the succession of Bishops through whom the tradition of Gospel doctrine had come down to his day"; and Tertullian likewise.

2. JOHN KEBLE. Immediately after his appointment to Hursley, in September, 1836, Keble, probably as the junior incumbent, was invited to preach the sermon in Winchester Cathedral, on the occasion of the Archdeacon's visitation.

"I thundered it out," he said, "more emphatically almost than anything in my life." He was 44 years of age at the time. The title of the sermon was "Primitive Tradition Recognised in Holy Scripture"; and the text 2 Tim. i. 14; and the tone of the sermon shows how startling he knew it must prove, not as stating something that was new, but as reviving something that had fallen into neglect.

We find him saying, "Must it not be owned ?"

"Some will say 'We have the Holy Scriptures'. . ."

"Ought we not to follow the course of Tradition? "

"I do not see how we can be wrong in inferring."

Keble goes on: "The Nicene Creed to which perhaps we are most indebted for our sound belief in the proper divinity of the Son of God, even this Creed had its origin, not from Scripture, but from tradition. The 300 bishops who joined in its promulgation did not profess to have collected it out of the Bible, but simply to express the faith which each of them had found in the Church which he represented, received by tradition from the Apostles."

In reproving false teachers, Tertullian and Irenæus "refer to the tradition of the whole Church, as to something independent of the written word, and sufficient at that time to refute heresy, even alone. Do they not employ Church tradition as parallel to Scripture, not as derived from it? And consequently as fixing the interpretation of disputed texts?"

It was two years after this, in 1838, when the publication of Froude's "Remains" had made such a stir, that the bishops began to train their guns on Keble and on the Tracts. Indeed, his sermon came in for severe handling; and as the Bishop of Calcutta quotes from the sermon in support of his censure, I will transcribe his words as typical of the rest:—"It is to me, I confess, a matter of surprise and shame, that in the XIXth century we should really have the fundamental position of the whole system of popery virtually reasserted in the bosom of that

very Church which was reformed so determinately three centuries since, from this self same evil. . . ."

Observe next, the words the Bishop quotes:—

"Catholic tradition teaches revealed truth, Scripture proves it; Scripture is the document of faith, tradition the witness of it; the true Creed is the Catholic interpretation of Scripture, or Scripturally proved tradition. Scripture by itself teaches mediately and proves decisively. Scripture and Tradition together are the joint rule of faith."

The sermon lasted one hour and a half, and at the request of the audience was published, and before very long reached its third edition.

Observe, then, the various impressions it made upon various minds.

The Bishop mistook it for Roman Catholicism;—"the fundamental position of the whole system of popery. . . ."

The audience is anxious to read it.

While Keble, in a letter to Sir John Coleridge, writes: "It appears to me such plain humdrum commonsense . . ."

How are we to account for these various impressions? Partly, of course, by the fact that the exigencies of controversy in the Hampden case had compelled a deeper study on the part of Newman and Keble, and partly because in the 16th century men had not separated because they differed but had been forced into confusion, and had come to differ in consequence of it.

CHAPTER VI.

In this chapter I wish to leave the Tractarians to say their own words, and so to show us what I think is true that if the movers themselves did not always mean Rome, Rome was what the Movement itself always did mean. We know already what Newman said.

JOHN KEBLE. Writing to Pusey in 1836, Keble said : "We agree with Rome about our major premisses; our differences are about the minor."

Six years later, in 1843 : "We can only each go on in our own way, holding to the truth that we know we have."

In January, 1844, when asked his advice as to the wisdom or not of editing a reformed Breviary :—

"My wish is, *especially in my state of ignorance, to keep up a kind of neutrality as to the points in which we differ from Rome, and I very much wished that the British Critic might have been kept up on that principle.*"

Five months later Keble spoke even more strongly of his ignorance : Oakeley, who was doing a great work at Margaret Chapel, insisted that he could not work with any helper who had, he said, 'a less reverential estimate of the Roman faith than himself'; that estimate being to take it 'simpliciter as authoritative.'

Keble's advice having been asked, he replied :—

"I do not say it would be wrong to go on with him . . .
... *I am so shamefully ignorant of the true merits of the case between us and Rome that I cannot form a judgment in the matter.*"

A little more than a year later, in September, 1845 (a month before Newman left the English Church), when some case came up connected with a school in Ireland, Keble described this in a letter to Pusey as

"an instance of that which I am rather apt to dream about — *a kind of neutrality between England and Rome. Both being branches of the Church, as our theory asserts they cannot really be enemies to each other. Neither need hesitate to educate the other's children, if need so require.*"

Again : In 1850, when the Rev. William Palmer, as Vice-President of the Bristol Church Union, proposed a strongly worded resolution against 'reconciliation or intercommunion with Rome, while she is as she is,' Keble was disposed at first to favour the suggestion, though in a milder form. But when Pusey pressed the point that "the English Church has never said anything of the kind about non-inter-communion with Rome. Some of our apologists, at least, say that Rome separated from us, not we from her," Keble bowed to his opinion :

" I cannot join," he said, " in any anti-Roman declaration that I have yet seen, not even my own, now I find the terms of it are equivocal."

EDWARD BOUVERIE PUSEY. Space will allow me only two or three quotations here.

In 1845 when Manning, then Archdeacon of Chichester, sent Pusey a copy of his charge, Pusey replied :

" While it is in a cheering tone is there quite love enough for the Roman Church *I only desiderate more love for Rome.* When the battle with infidelity and rebellion comes, we must be on the same side."

But, of course, Pusey's Eirenicon in 1865, is famous : and his desire to promote reunion with Rome throughout his life is well known : like Bossuet he laid stress on 'exposition' as one principal means of reducing distances, and Cardinal Wiseman from his side had said many years before : 'We must explain to the uttermost.' The Tractarians, at the outset, before they had gone into the question, were apt to speak of Roman Catholics as 'wretched Tridentines' ; but between 1833 and 1865 the Movement had moved, until Pusey was able to say :

" We make ourselves acquainted with the Council of Trent ; *we see in what sense—and that a sense approved by some of your own writers—we could receive it* ; and then we are bewildered with a teaching, in which there is one central figure, which (although one could not exaggerate the love due to her whom Jesus so loved and loves) is not Jesus, our God."

In other words, we have come to understand Trent, but have not yet come to appreciate the distinction between corruptions which have no sanction of the Church and her official teaching.

It is only fair to say that the exception taken in the above to exaggerated expressions of devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary did not meet with sympathy from Newman, and were distasteful to many in his own Communion. Meanwhile, I am calling attention to the significance and the sin of separation ; and the point I am pressing is the advance that had been made as regards the Council of Trent.

Pusey, like so many others at the moment, was distressed at the prospect of a definition on Papal Infallibility — a doctrine which he had no time to analyse and to understand; but writing to Newman at the end of his effort, he said:—

“ I do write in the full confidence that I express the feelings of thousands upon thousands of English hearts, both here and in the United States, when I say that if, not individual but accredited Roman authorities could say ‘Reunion would involve your professing your belief in this, and that, and that, but it would not involve your receiving such and such opinions, or practices, or devotions, or matters of discipline,’ I believe that the middle wall of partition, which has existed so long in, as we believe, the one fold of Christendom, would be effectually shattered. . . . Sons of the same fathers we must in time come to understand each other’s language” (Eirenicon iii, pp. 341—343.)

Pusey felt it wiser not to be persuaded to go to Rome for the Vatican Council:—“I have satisfied myself of the practicability,” he wrote to Newman, “of an union on the basis of the Council of Trent *explained*, and so my business is more at home.”

HURRELL FROUDE. Hurrell Froude died so young, in 1836, aged 33 years, that his views were not finally formed.

He had spoken in 1833-4, as strongly as any against the Church of Rome as he saw it abroad; but Newman has shown us what he thought so far on the whole question; and though Keble was anxious that he should not be accused of any disloyalty to the English Church, there is no mistaking the depth of Froude’s sympathies with the Roman Church as such, or, I think, the side he would have taken, in the great movement for reunion which came to have so significant a development after his death. I give a few quotations (from his letters in his last days):—

1834. “ As to the Reformers I think worse and worse of them”

“ Jewell was what you would in these days call an irreverent dissenter.”

“ The Preface to the 39 Articles was certainly intended to disconnect us from the Reformers.”

“ When I get your letter I expect a rowing for my Roman Catholic sentiments. Really, I hate the Reformation.”

“ Nor shall I even abuse the Roman Catholics *as a Church* for anything except excommunicating us” (The Roman Church as such has never excommunicated the English Church as such.—S.J.).

1835, the year before his death:—

“ Why do you praise Ridley? Do you know sufficient good about him to counterbalance the fact that he was the associate of Cranmer, Peter Martyr, and Bucer?”

“ How beautifully the Edinburgh Review has shown up Luther, Melancthon and Co! What good genius has possessed them to do our dirty work?”

FREDERICK OAKELEY. In passing from the original leaders to the group of younger men who, having heard little of a *Via Media*, were frankly in favour of reunion with Rome, it will be best to hear how, in the judgment of Newman, this “ new school of thought . . . was sweeping the original party of the Movement aside, and was taking its place.” “The most prominent person in it, was a man of elegant genius, of classical mind, of rare talent in literary composition :—Mr. Oakeley. . . . He was almost a typical Oxford man, and as far as I recollect, both in political and ecclesiastical views, would have been of one spirit with the Oriel party of 1826—1833. But he had entered late into the Movement. . .” Under the editorship of Thomas Mozley, who had succeeded Newman in that office, the *British Critic* opened its pages to what were known then (1841) as the extreme men of the Movement, with Oakeley and Ward at their head. And Oakeley’s article on Bishop Jewel plainly “marked the parting of the ways between the old and new school of Tractarians.” Both men claimed the right to ‘hold’ all Roman doctrines, and, when conditions were ripe, to teach them.

Let us hear Oakeley, then :—

“I do not . . . *deny my right* to teach them, if I can hold them. I *waive* it. I waive it not reluctantly, but gladly—not because I am precluded from acting upon it, but because I am not disposed so to act. I waive it for *ethical*, not for legal reasons. It is as much a conscience with me to keep from teaching as it is a conscience with me to decline denouncing. When all that is common to England and Rome is exhausted, how exceedingly small is the *residuum*.

. the actual Church of England has long seemed to me, though a providential, yet a transitional, not a complete and final system its passage from this incomplete to the more perfect state ought, if possible, to be gradual and not abrupt. I have avowedly and deliberately acted upon this view, as others have done.

Do they (objectors to my principle of ‘holding’ as distinct from ‘teaching’) or do they not feel the *actual basis* of the Church of England as an insulated communion, a solid and substantial one?”

Accepting Oakeley, then, as a fair representative of the Movement and especially of the second phase of the Movement, were his views shared or were they not shared by the other members of the Group? His own words may answer this question :—

“ Many of us would fain have been Roman without ceasing to be Anglican. That Rome must be restored to us sooner or later many of us have long felt; and the hope we cherished was that the force of the transition might be broken, and the eventual substitution brought about through a gradual process of absorption. But others would not have it so, and perhaps they were right.”

Let anyone weigh carefully these words: there were many who had long felt that *Rome must be restored to us*. This was in 1845.

Pass now to Oakeley's comment on Pusey's Eirenicon, twenty years later:—

In a letter to the Most Revd. H. E. Manning, Oakeley writes:—

“ We must all be amply gratified by the fact that one holding so high a position and possessing so extensive a command over the hearts and consciences of others (sc. Dr. Pusey) declaring that he is preparing to accept all our *de fide* doctrines in the true sense of the Church; and that union with us is the dearest object of his pursuit.

“ This is surely a great step. It seems like a dream that a claim bearing so great a similarity to that for the avowal of which only twenty years ago Mr. Ward was stripped of his M.A. gown by a vote of the Oxford Convocation, and myself suspended from all ministerial functions in the province of Canterbury by a sentence of the supreme Ecclesiastical Court, except on condition of a full and free recantation of my errors should now be advanced by a Canon of Christ Church and a Regius Professor without reserve, and without reproach.”

CONCLUSION.

In conclusion, I have attempted to show that 'Rome' has appeared as a factor in the Oxford Movement from the first: it appears in the Advertisement to Keble's Sermon, where, after denouncing the 'Profane Intrusion' of the State, he asks what answer we are to give to Rome in the face of that intrusion; it was present at the outset in the mind of the multitude, and in its warning to the men of the Movement that the study of the Fathers would take them to Rome before they were ware of it; and one of the chief personages in the Movement, and many distinguished men of the younger group found 'Rome' where the multitude had said they would find it.

1. But observe: What the multitude had yet to learn, and what the Revival had come to teach them was not to beware of the Fathers, or to warn men against them, but to win men over to the study of them; that the right, and even the duty of appeal to the Fathers, and more particularly to the four first Councils, which is recognised expressly by the formularies of the Church and also by the law of the land (1 Eliz. i, 36) attaches to the charter of the English Church as such, and is not the peculiarity of any party within it; and since what happened to the English Church in the 16th century happened to it as a whole, not in the form of excommunication, and in spite of its own formal and constitutional protest, the responsibility for its charter, and for its attitude to its charter, whatever that charter may have to say to us, rests ultimately with the English Church as a whole, and not with the individual members of it.

While Keble and Pusey, then, could never be induced either to leave the Church of England, or to adopt the principle of anti-Romanism as a pretext for continuing to remain in it, Newman felt that unless he could adopt that principle he was bound to leave it.

But with his usual sense of fairness, Newman acknowledged expressly the strength of their position without being able personally to sanction it. "By Anglican principles," he said, "I understand taking *Antiquity*, not the *existing Church* as the oracle of truth; and holding that the Apostolical succession is a sufficient guarantee of sacramental grace without union, *with the Christian Church throughout the world*."

I think these still the firmest, strongest ground against

Rome—that is, if they can be held [as truths or facts]. They have been held by many; and are far more difficult to refute in the Roman controversy than those of any other religious body. For myself, I felt I could not hold them. . . .”

2. The distinction in the two attitudes is important: the distinction, I mean, between the principle of Corporate Reunion and that of individual submission.

The question of Corporate Reunion, which alone concerns us here, and as I understand it, is the question whether at all, and if so how far, any one Christian body can alter its attitude without changing its charter; and this in order to come into line with other bodies.

Change of some kind there must be if there is to be reunion at all; and, while each several communion can change only after its own kind, the basis of change will be wider with some communions than with others.

Thus a communion that appeals to Scripture as such without recognising any restriction as to its method of interpreting Scripture presents a wider basis for change than a Communion like the English Church that is restricted in its method of interpretation by its appeal to antiquity and particularly to the General Councils of that period.

And, as I shall show presently, the Roman Communion in one important respect is more restricted than any other.

The question, then, for the English Church is how far she can alter her attitude without changing her charter.

Now in attempting to answer this question, I shall follow the lead of the Tractarians in adopting the constitutional principle. Hurrell Froude, in spite of his blunt straightforwardness, insisted upon this, and supported his contention by the attitude respectively of De Lammenais and of Fenelon: ‘look what Fenelon did in the way of reform, and then see how De Lammenais came to grief for neglecting it; the revolutionary principle is always wasteful.’

3. With this principle in our minds, then, no one will say that we find ourselves to-day where we stood three hundred years ago, or a hundred years ago, or even thirty years; as if The Association for Promoting the Unity of Christendom (instituted in 1857), The World Conference on Faith and Order (1910), the Conversations at Malines (1923), the Formal Resolutions of the Lambeth Conferences (1908, 1920, and 1930), the institution of the Church Unity Octave, and the individual efforts of Newman and Pusey, and of distinguished laymen like Lord Halifax and the late Lord Nelson, had left us where they found us. On the contrary, certain factors have emerged from all this experience, some of them fluid, some of them fixed; factors that we cannot mistake and that we ought not to neglect. And the first of these and the one that should dominate the

entire field of inquiry is the fact that Rome cannot reverse her *de fide* positions.

Facts are our masters, and facts are facts alike for the Catholic and for the Calvinist; and it is important, therefore, that we should face up to this fact.

With Rome the faith is bound up with her being, so that she cannot come into the Conference Chamber to reconsider it, as she would be dead if she did it.

To borrow a quaint distinction from George Macdonald, this is 'not merely a think but a thing'; and it is a thing that can be ascertained from the nearest or the furthest Roman Catholic priest you can question, and who may be asked if he will write down a refutation of it, and have it countersigned by his own bishop.

Is it not commonsense, then, to take this fact with us to start with, instead of waiting for long and laborious research to bring it home to us in the end.

Such a fact, when looked at rightly, will prove a help to us and not a hindrance, assuring us, as it does, that there is at least one communion that will certainly be there when we get there.

What was natural, then, for Laud to say in the 17th century is out of the question for us in the 20th.

Next, what does Lambeth say? In the formal resolutions of a Committee, the largest Committee ever appointed by a Lambeth Conference, numbering 72 bishops, the statement of the 1908 Committee was adopted and deliberately reaffirmed in 1920, and again reaffirmed in 1930:—

"There can be no fulfilment of the divine purpose in any scheme of re-union which does not ultimately include the great Latin Church of the West. . . . But we realise that any advance in this direction is barred by difficulties which we have not ourselves created and which we cannot of ourselves remove. Should, however, the Church of Rome at any time desire to discuss conditions of re-union we shall be ready to welcome such discussions."

May I here be allowed to quote the words I used at a Diocesan Conference in 1921: "If the allusion and reservation here refer to the Faith of the Church we are waiting for an event that is never going to happen, and are living in a dream."

On the other hand, if the allusion be to conditions outside the faith, Rome's policy in such cases is a conservative policy, and as far as possible she leaves bodies as they are. While as regards the vexed question of Orders under such altered conditions, and if England recovered, however gradually, other dogmatic conditions such as she has done already, for example, in regard of penance, and the doctrine of the Mass, the rising generation of candidates another day would have no difficulty

in presenting themselves for Orders under Roman conditions, which are recognised by both bodies to-day, in preference to conditions that are acknowledged only by one of them.

In the meantime, the solution might come by bishops, with Orders acknowledged by Rome, participating in the sacrament of ordination in our own Cathedrals.

4. Are we to view Roman Catholic conditions for ever through the dark spectacles of 16th century conditions; or must we insist upon ignoring the fact that Alfred sometimes described as the founder of England's greatness, was the Godson of a Pope, that he left money to be paid for masses to be said for his own soul, and for the souls of his people; and that he invited brilliant scholars into our country to educate and civilise our people?

Is it disloyal to remind ourselves that it was Rome that gave us the Gospel, and that we remained in communion with Rome for nearly a thousand years until we came to be separated not by ourselves, but in spite of ourselves?

If the Bishop of Calcutta in Keble's day mistook the substance of his sermon for Roman Catholicism; and if Keble regarded the same sermon as what should be accepted as "mere humdrum teaching of Anglicanism"; while the congregation asked to see the sermon in print, is it not because 16th century issues have been confused, and that the conditions to be adjusted are not as between England and Rome, but as between the things that are Cæsar's and the things that are God's.

5. If any one be tempted to say this brings us to a standstill for "we know what Rome is"; a long and various experience has convinced me and others that this is precisely what we do not know.

Some twelve years after he had joined the Church of Rome, Oakeley said in a sermon: "Nothing is more apt to strike Catholics with wonder, and tempt them to chagrin, than the misapprehensions and misrepresentations to which they and their religion are continually subjected."

And many years ago Lord Halifax said that these very misunderstandings constitute one hope for the future, since Rome as she really is is something still waiting for us to know and to appreciate. Not only so, but as the means of communication continue to multiply and distances tend more and more to disappear, the insular temperament with many of its prejudices will tend to disappear with them; misapprehensions will be more quickly removed, and through the medium of sight and of sound Catholic conditions will come home to our people; while Pilgrimages, again, as they become increasingly possible will also increase the number of people who will be able to 'see for themselves.'

Nor is it, I think, extravagant to anticipate a time when

air passages will open the way for whole congregations, or at least for guilds, occasionally to take their flight and to attend Mass at Chartres, or at the Cathedral of Notre Dame.

But to return to earth again: one other factor there is which must, I think, determine the direction of the movement, a factor which should commend itself—I am speaking with all good will — to some of our brethren who are tempted unnecessarily, as I think, to regard union with the Holy See as being incompatible with sound learning. The exigencies and the prejudice of a false tradition, thrust upon us by the Crown and not by the Church, in the 16th century, still continue to constrain some of us to insist upon a distinction between Catholicism and Roman Catholicism; a distinction which scientific history will no longer allow us to maintain.

On the occasion of the Malines conversations the late Mgr. Batiffol, acknowledged to be one of the few really distinguished patristic scholars of his day, and one whose fairness and courtesy as well as his knowledge of his subject is conspicuous in every line he wrote, was asked to reply to the late Dr. Gore; and after stating that Dr. Gore's position was very much that of the old Catholics and of Döllinger, he goes on to say:

"But since the time of Döllinger there have been changes taken by scientific history. When we read the first chapter of Döllinger's *Papacy*, published in 1869, we are quick to see that the structure which he built up, once so impregnable in appearance, is *now in pieces*. The Christian origins, when studied objectively, *are seen to stand for Catholicism*, and there is no Catholicism without Papacy. And this being the evidence afforded by the origins, a Catholicism which should try to-day to organise itself without Papacy, would be ambiguous, without tradition, and without defence."

6. And what is there either in Scripture or in the Prayer Book to block the way of Catholic advance to a recognition of the Primacy *de jure divino*, for which now, for some time past, our scholars, and among them especially the late Dr. Cuthbert Turner, have been paving the way?

So far from Scripture disparaging the Church of Rome, St. Paul in his letter writes: "I thank my God through Jesus Christ for you all that your faith is spoken of throughout the whole world"; while so far as the Articles have authority with us to-day, Pusey pointed out many years ago that Article 37 involves "no question between ecclesiastical authorities. It only asserts certain prerogatives of the Crown, and denies jurisdiction which shall interfere therewith."

Finally, the direction of the Movement, which is no merely abstract enterprise on paper or in the study, is likely to be controlled largely by events, as well as by arguments; and just as in 1914 the prospect of the World War dispelled the darkness

and the danger of Civil War in a neighbouring country, so Christians by "a wave of wills" as Father Waggett once happily expressed it, may be swept more rapidly than we have dared to imagine, into one camp in view of a nation that is constituting itself the enemy of God and of all religion.

With this prospect before us, it is no doubt a cunning device of the enemy of souls to rivet our attention upon Rome, as if the common foe had his capital in that city and not in Moscow, while his emissaries meantime are knocking at our doors.

But not to rest in this school of nature, it is the Holy Spirit, we know, who is the author of Unity; and while we can work together with Him for this common good, it is He only that will see that we get the good that God intends to give us.

APPENDIX

The following extracts may serve to illustrate what I have only indicated in the Introduction (p. 3) :—

1. *Dr. Hampden.* When Keble and Pusey proposed to institute a suit against Hampden, Keble undertook to be responsible for the legal expenses, estimated at £2,000.

2. *The Real Presence.*

a. *Pusey.* On the occasion of his two years' suspension for his sermon on May 14th, 1843, the Six Doctors prescribed certain statements for Pusey to sign, the 3rd of which ran :—

“ I did not intend to represent the Body and Blood of Christ as present with the consecrated elements by virtue of their consecration before they are received by the faithful communicant and independently of his faith.”

Pusey could not sign it.

Ten years later in the ‘Notes’ on his sermon, “the closing ‘Note’ is a massive accumulation of witnesses to the positive side of the doctrine as held by the ancient Church, viz., that *after consecration our Lord is objectively present in the Holy Eucharist.*”—Life iii. pp. 431, 432.

Also *The Story of Dr. Pusey’s Life*, by the Author of ‘Charles Lowder.’

b. *Keble.* Keble’s final and mature judgment :—

(1) “The Person of Jesus Christ our Lord, wherever it is, is to be adored.”

(2) “Christ’s Person is in the Holy Eucharist by the presence of His Body and Blood therein.”

(3) “The Person of Christ is to be adored in that Sacrament, as there present in a peculiar manner by the presence of His Body and Blood” (Life, by Edward F. L. Wood; p. 166).

c. *Hurrell Froude.* “ I am more and more indignant at the Protestant doctrine on the subject of the Eucharist, and I think that the principle on which it is founded is as proud, irreverent, and foolish as that of any heresy. . . .”

Many other passages might be adduced to show how the revival was stamped with the Catholic stamp throughout.



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